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ABSTRACT

Research from the late 1960's to 1974 reveals that early sex role socialization affects the intellectual achievement and career choices of women. Whereas preschool girls test as well or somewhat better than boys on various intelligence measures, high school boys test higher in general intelligence, and number, spatial, and analytic ability. One theory suggests that intellectual achievement interferes with the socialization process of girls, which emphasizes a nurturant and docile personality. A second theory finds girls to be more conforming, suggestible, and dependent on the opinions of others than boys and consequently more likely to be easily distracted and hindered in tasks calling for sequential thought. Other studies indicate that each sex is socialized to different behavioral patterns and different expectations of future roles from an early age. Such stereotyping leads girls to lack confidence in their ability to engage in intellectual pursuits; they are channeled not only by overt discrimination but also by an internalized sense of their own inadequacy into secondary roles in the work force and the home. Thinking of their market work as secondary to their true roles as wives and mothers, women tend to be docile workers, unlikely to organize or make demands. (KC)

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**SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION AND WORK ROLES:
THE EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN**

by

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Discussion Paper 74-1
February, 1974

Project: Educational Requirements for Industrial Democracy

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FOREWORD

One of the important functions of schools is the preparation of the young for the world of work. Research on the nature of educational organizations and the production of educational services has stressed the correspondence between the activities and outputs of the schools with the requirements of work organizations. In recent years worker dissatisfaction has been rising, and it appears that there has been an associated increase in employee disruption of production. Some business firms have responded to these problems by attempting to reorganize work to increase the participation of workers in decisionmaking and to change the nature of jobs. This movement towards greater "industrial democracy" is gaining momentum both in the United States and in Europe, and as a result it appears to be generating a new set of requirements for worker characteristics.

The purpose of the project on Educational Requirements for Industrial Democracy is to examine the correspondence between socialization to occupational roles generally--via education, in particular--and the organization and content of work. An understanding of this correspondence is then applied to the study of changes in the nature of work in order to predict new demands that will be placed on the education system and other institutions of socialization. The analysis of possible responses of educational institutions to such demands will inform debate on educational reforms at both the curricular and institutional level.

The project research involves parallel examination of schools and firms in order to ascertain the correspondence between the formation and utilization of workers' traits in the context of traditional modes of work organization and under the various approaches to industrial democracy. This research will include the study of the supply of worker traits, socialization to occupational roles, educational production relations in the U.S. schools, the operation of U.S. labor markets and the demand for educational characteristics, and the relationship between worker characteristics, job characteristics and worker productivity.

A taxonomy of educational reforms and a taxonomy of the dimensions of work reform will be developed to provide an analytic framework for

describing important distinctions between reforms of education and work respectively. Commonly proposed reforms, and reforms with which there is some practical experience will be described with the aid of these taxonomies.

A survey will be conducted of selected firms in the U.S. and abroad that have experimented with different forms of work reorganization constituting varying degrees of industrial democracy. Similarly, a survey is planned of selected schools that are experimenting with corresponding types of school reorganization and educational reforms. Special attention will be given to the relevance of the most prominent types of educational reform for changing the educational characteristics of workers in order to meet the new work requirements.

The discussion paper presented here is part of a series of papers reporting on-going research. The final project report will represent a comprehensive document that outlines the probable extent and impact of work reorganization on schools and the educational system.

SUMMARY

This paper examines the socialization of women to work roles, with emphasis on the necessity of change in socialization to respond to the changing needs of society. Major works on sex role socialization are examined, in order to understand the nature and content of the socialization. Effects of sex role socialization on intellectual achievement are discussed, as well as various views of how the socialization process takes place. Finally, the relation of current sex role socialization of women to their actual role in the economy is examined, to determine in what ways the socialization is consistent with, and in what ways contradictory to, their actual experience.

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I. INTRODUCTION.

The nature and content of work has changed greatly over time and continues to differ substantially among cultures and economic systems today. Attitudes toward work, the prevailing work ethic, vary accordingly. Yet virtually all societies have maintained a division of work roles by sex (although the content of the division differs). Attitudes and expectations about men and women justify this division; members of a given society are socialized to accept its norms about work in general, and the appropriate work roles for the two sexes in particular.

Thus sex role socialization must be examined within the context of the society, and economic situation, in question. In general, we can expect the socialization to be consistent with society's needs. However, the needs of society change over time, and role expectations which have been appropriate in the past may become inappropriate as a result. Attitudes toward sex roles tend to be deeply rooted in tradition, and may not change as quickly as society's needs change. Thus it is possible at a given point in time for the prevailing sex role socialization to be consistent in some points, and contradictory in others, to the economic and social situation in which men and women find themselves.

Socialization to sex roles, then, takes place in a dynamic setting, and is itself continuously undergoing change in response. In order to understand the direction of that change, it is necessary to examine the nature and content of present sex role socialization, and its relation to actual labor force experience. This paper will examine this question with particular emphasis on the socialization of women to work roles.

II. APPROACHING THE PROBLEM.

Sex role identification is an extremely important consideration in our culture, perhaps in all cultures. The first piece of information anyone wants to know about a new born child is whether it is a girl or a boy. From this biological information, the child's parents, relatives, and, indeed, total strangers it passes on the street (who derive their information about its sexual identity from the color of the blanket and the presence or absence of lace and frills), make a number of assumptions about its personality, interests, and future activities. These assumptions are made with great confidence, as there are few people who do not accept with complacency the idea that the sexes differ markedly in character and interest; that such differences are not only natural, but somehow morally "right".

Because society puts such emphasis on sex role identity, sex role socialization cannot be isolated from the general interaction of the individual and his or her environment. Thus, the way a child is handled, spoken to, dressed, the roles the child sees men and women performing around him or her, all socialize the child to identify and attempt to reproduce the characteristics "appropriate" to its sex.

All sex role socialization is not hidden or implicit, however. Parents, school, and media also make very explicit judgments about the "natural differences" between boys and girls, men and women, and about the work roles considered appropriate for the two sexes.

In what follows, I will review some of the basic literature on sex role socialization. It is notable that most of the literature is written by psychologists, and concentrates on early childhood, especially on the interaction between children and their parents. While early childhood experience is clearly of profound importance in identity development, it is nonetheless true, and crucially so, that sex role typing, and the pressures to conform to one's sexual

stereotype, pervades schools, media, jobs, social situations as well as family. The pressures continue from infancy through adulthood.

Socialization is a catchword for the direct and indirect means a society uses to teach its inhabitants to fit in, acquaint them with its norms, values, and expectations. It must be seen as a process, a continuous interaction (or sometimes struggle) between the individual and society. Early childhood is indeed a crucial period of socialization, but no one emerges after the first five years a thoroughly socialized being, molded to the behavior consistent with sex and class, never to deviate from the appropriate.¹

Further, society's conception of what behavior is considered appropriate is not static. The conception of what roles are acceptable for women has changed considerably since the early 1800's, when education for women was thought undesirable and even dangerous, as it would tax their delicate brains and risk brain fever and insanity. More recently, the great influx of women into the labor force since World War II has somewhat changed society's expectations about women's roles, and thus women's expectations about themselves. Market work for women, which had been seen as a temporary "time filler" between school and marriage or the birth of the first child, or as a tragic and hopefully shortlived necessity when economic disaster struck the family, is gradually coming to be accepted as a normal, even expected, pursuit.

One real weakness of many of the articles on sex role socialization is that they do not recognize the dynamic nature of society's expectations. The analysis is static, simply describing the content and sometimes the techniques of sex role typing without reference to the influences of forces outside the family. The parents' values and expectations about sex-appropriate manner and activities are taken as given, a priori. To be sure, there is value to examining the ways in which standards of approved behavior are transmitted from one generation to the next. But the literature on sex role socialization is strikingly devoid of process, of any analysis of the relation between sex role expectations and the roles people are actually called upon to fill in society.

III. NATURE AND CONTENT OF SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION:
SOME MAJOR VIEWS.

It would be useful at this point to review some of the major works on sex role socialization to determine the content, and something of the techniques, of the socialization. The focus in this review will be on developing an understanding of the specific behavioral expectations of the two sexes. We must remember in reviewing these articles that, as in any observation of human behavior, interpretation cannot help but involve some amount of subjective bias. Thus not only may a child's act be classified differently ("hostile" versus "self-assertive", for example) by different observers, but the same act may be classified differently by the same observer depending on whether the child is a girl or a boy. Obviously any serious study will attempt to correct for such factors, but I found several instances where very different interpretations could be made of the data than the ones presented.

One central work on sex role socialization of children is The Development of Sex Differences, a collection of conference papers compiled by Eleanor Maccoby. These papers survey and discuss the literature to date quite thoroughly, and thus provide an excellent summary of the central thoughts of researchers, predominately psychologists, on the subject.

INTELLECTUAL ACHIEVEMENT BY SEX.

In her article in this book, Eleanor Maccoby traces the development of differences in intellectual functioning between boys and girls. She notes that whereas preschool girls test as well or somewhat better than boys on tests of a variety of aspects of intelligence, by high school or young adulthood boys test higher in tests of general intelligence, number ability, spatial ability, and analytic ability. Girls continue to test better only in verbal ability. They achieve better school grades than boys, even in subjects in which boys score higher on achievement tests, but in adulthood men

achieve substantially more in almost any aspect of intellectual ability.² Studies of gifted children showed that boys tended to realize their potential and girls did not.

It is important to remember that testing is not a neutral process; that intelligence and achievement of potential are measured by criteria considered significant by the deviser of the test, who of necessity make value judgments about what to include. A test may appear to measure intelligence, but through content or procedure may reward self-assertiveness and ability to compete, characteristics encouraged in boys but not in girls; and may give no reward for sensitivity or intuition, which are encouraged in girls. The environment in which the test is administered may be crucially important. In a study by Matina Horner, men were found to perform better on achievement tests in a competitive situation than when they worked alone; but for women the opposite was true: they performed better alone than under competition.³

Yet despite these limitations, both in what is measured and how it is measured, these findings are of some significance, for two reasons. First, the tests do reflect the values of society, and society tends to reward those possessing the attributes measured by these tests (not only the intelligence as defined by the tests, but also the ability to perform well in a competitive setting). Second, the change in girls' ability, or inability, to perform on these tests is significant as it indicates that the ability to achieve success in certain types of intellectual performance is not innate but develops in the process of socialization.

INTELLECTUAL ABILITY AND SOCIALIZATION.

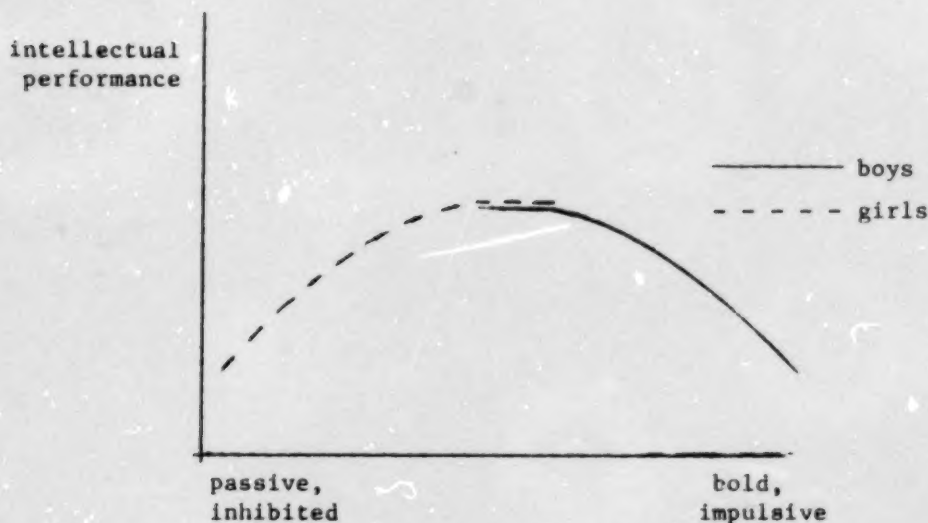
Clearly some forces are acting to channel and limit intellectual functioning in girls. There are apparently some physiological factors involved in the lower performance of boys than girls in early childhood (boys are born less developed than girls, thus mature more slowly), but environmental factors play an important role in subsequent years. Maccoby discusses two major viewpoints on the factors which cause a drop in tested intelligence and achievement in girls.

The first theory emphasizes that children quickly begin to identify themselves as boys or girls, and to copy the roles they see adults of their sex playing. In this they are actively encouraged by adults. Girls, particularly as they approach adolescence, identify, and receive approval from adults and peers for identifying, with the adult female sex role as they perceive it. This role requires sexual attractiveness, a nurturant and docile personality, certain skills (cooking, cleaning, typing), but little intellectual ability. Indeed, intellectual achievement, especially in science, math, or other "logical" disciplines, is likely to interfere with, be contradictory to, the development of "femininity" as perceived by society. Thus, girls in high school begin to underachieve. A study done in 1960 found that girls who underachieve in high school usually begin to do so around the onset of puberty, while for boys the beginning is usually earlier. "This contrast is a further indication that the achievement drop-off among girls as they reach maturity is linked to the adult female sex role."⁴

Another theory, not contradictory to this first, begins with the finding that girls tend to be more conforming, more suggestible, more dependent on the opinion of others than boys. Clearly, environmental factors are central to the development of these differences, but once they are developed, they in turn affect intellectual development, by affecting the child's modes of dealing with stimulus. First, a dependent child is oriented toward stimulus emanating from others, and may have trouble ignoring them in favor of internal thought processes necessary for analytic thinking. The dependent child is likely to be more easily distractible, and thus hindered in tasks calling for sequential thought. And second, a dependent child is passive, waiting to be acted upon rather than taking initiative.

While it would appear that girls suffer the most from sex role socialization, in the limiting of development and loss of potential, it is apparent that boys too lose by sex role typing. Thus, studies have indicated that the brightest children both among boys and girls are those who show mixes of personality traits generally labelled masculine and feminine. Maccoby has developed a graph illustrating

this finding, relating intellectual performance to personality traits:⁵



PERCEPTION OF SEX ROLES.

Two other articles in the book of particular interest are "A Social-Learning View of Sex Differences in Behavior" by Walter Mischel, and "A Cognitive-Development Analysis of Children's Sex-Role Concepts and Attitudes" by Lawrence Kohlberg. While these authors represent two different theories of how children learn their sexually appropriate roles (in brief, the question is whether children first learn appropriate behavior and then connect it with their sexual identity, or learn their sexual identity, and learn what behavior is appropriate to that identity), both authors agree that children develop distinct and quite specific awarenesses of sex roles at a very early age. By the age of five, according to Mischel, both boys and girls were aware of the activities considered appropriate and inappropriate to each sex, when shown cards depicting such activities and asked "Which does the mother (father) want the boy (girl) to do?"⁶

Kohlberg adds that by the age of 4-7, children showed awareness that only males play roles involving violence and danger, such as

policeman, soldier, fireman, robber.⁷ Thus children are aware not only of the differences in activities and behaviors expected of the two sexes at home, but also that these differences continue in society. Their expectations about the nature and content of their market work are already being formed.

Both authors agree that children are very concerned with power, and tend to imitate the behavior of the most powerful adult in their lives. According to Kohlberg, children tend to see their fathers as the most powerful members of the family, initially because they are the largest:

Children agree earliest and most completely that fathers are bigger and stronger than mothers, next that they are smarter than mothers, and next that they have more social power or are the boss in the family.⁸

Because children cannot easily grasp the concept of age, Kohlberg says, they use size as a basic indicator of age/status. He illustrates this point with a quote. Philip, age 3 yr. 10 mo., told his mother, "When you grow up to be a Daddy, you can have a bicycle too (like his father)".⁹ In fact, the issue of size aside, Philip may have made a realistic assessment of power relations in his family. His only mistake may be in assuming that his mother will someday achieve the power and status reserved for a Daddy.

More recent articles have corroborated the findings of this book, that great emphasis is placed on sex role typing from an early age. There is general agreement as well about the specific content of sex role typing. A study of young adults from a variety of class and educational backgrounds, done in the mid 1960's, found a strong consensus about the differing characteristics of men and-women.¹⁰ The characteristics for men, which entailed competence, rationality, and assertion, were more positively valued than the characteristics ascribed to women, which reflected warmth and expressiveness. These sex role differences were accepted and internalized by all the groups studied:

. . . these sex-role differences are considered desirable by college students, healthy by mental health professionals, and are even seen as ideal by both men and women.¹¹

Basically, the articles discussed above all agree that male and female children are socialized to different behavioral patterns, and different expectations of future roles. These two aspects of socialization are very interrelated, of course, but there is reason to examine them separately, as societal changes may cause complex interactions and even contradictions between them.

In response to behavioral expectations, girls are socialized, broadly speaking, to be passive, conforming, dependent, gentle, and emotional. Boys are socialized to be assertive, aggressive, independent, impulsive, and rational. Children are taught (probably as much by observation as any other way) that societal roles which involve assertion and power are male roles--father, policeman, president. Roles which involve serving and nurturing are female roles--mother, stewardess, nurse.

QUALIFICATIONS OF THE THEORY.

There are some qualifications to this general unanimity about roles. Edwards and Whiting, in a cross-cultural study, found that the boys displayed as much dependent behavior as the girls. The difference displayed was in dependence styles. Girls tended to seek physical contact, wanting "to sit by adults (especially adult women), climb into their laps, hold hands, and 'cuddle'".¹² Boys tended to seek attention, even negative attention. "Boys . . . are more apt than girls to boast, seek praise or recognition, and annoy or interrupt others with the purpose of receiving attention."¹³ Even though both sexes manifest equal dependence in this study, the girls tend to be passive and conforming, the boys assertive and aggressive in their pursuit of reassurance.

Rothbart and Maccoby made a study of parents in which one hypothesis being tested was that parents would teach sex-related behavior to children by reinforcing dependency more strongly in girls

and aggression more strongly in boys.¹⁴ The study found to the contrary, that parents tended to be more tolerant of both aggression and dependency in children of opposite sex from themselves. The authors conclude that a multitude of factors affect family interactions, and that parental tendencies to reinforce culturally accented sex role behavior in their children may be modified or even outweighed entirely by other motivations.

Indeed, the child may acquire some aspects of his appropriate role behavior in spite of, rather than because of, what at least one of his parents does as a reinforcing agent.¹⁵

It is important to see the family as a group of complex, inter-relating human beings, not as a monolithic institution for turning out perfectly socialized children. Yet it is clear that children from an early age are aware of, and begin to imitate, sex appropriate behavior.

EFFECTS OF SEX ROLE CHANNELING.

This channeling into sex appropriate behavior, I would argue, is not a beneficial or even neutral occurrence. Sex role typing limits the potential of both boys and girls (recall Maccoby's report that highest achievement comes from children with mixed personality characteristics), but especially it limits girls. The drop in scores on achievement test, reported by Maccoby, is just one manifestation of this limitation of potential. Taught to be passive and unassertive, rewarded with parental approval for being "pretty, nice, affectionate, and well-liked", while their brothers are taught to "be responsible, to show initiative, and to stand up for themselves",¹⁶ girls grow up lacking a strong sense of self-identity or self-esteem. They tend to lack confidence in their ability to engage in intellectual pursuits or to assert themselves in public occasions. Thus they are channeled, not only by overt discrimination, but also by an internalized sense of their own inadequacy, into secondary, non-initiating, serving roles in the work force and in the home.

IV. RELATION OF THE NATURE AND CONTENT OF SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION TO ROLES WOMEN PERFORM IN THE ECONOMY.

Sex role socialization cannot be discussed outside of the context of the society in which it takes place. Indeed, although the literature on young children focuses almost exclusively on the role of family in socialization, there are many other influences on the child, ranging from media to peer group pressure to the roles the child sees men and women fulfilling in the world around him. As the child gets older, school becomes a crucial focus of socialization. Socialization is a dynamic process. And society's expectations about the appropriate behavior for boys and girls, its sex role stereotypes, are quite directly related to the roles men and women fill in society.

This interrelationship may create a tension, as the roles of men and women in our society are not static, and indeed are changing fairly rapidly. If the purpose of socialization is to "fit" people into society--that is, train them in behavior appropriate to the roles they are expected to fill--then changes in society may result in a conflict between peoples' expectations about their roles, and their actual experienced roles. On the other hand, since much of socialization is nonspecific, emphasizing behavior instead of particular actions, a set of values and expectations which appear obsolete may in fact train a person appropriately for new roles.

LABOR FORCE EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN.

Let us examine the relationship between the occupational roles women fill in the United States, and the sex role socialization they experience. Women have been entering the labor force in increasing numbers since World War II. Today, nearly half of all women are in the labor force, with the vast majority of women working at some time in their lives. Many women work until their first child is born, then leave the labor force, only to return when their youngest children begin school. Thus, in 1968, 53% of women 20-24 were in the labor force. The percentage dropped to 43% for women 25-34, then began to climb again, with 53% of women 45-54 participating in the labor force.¹⁷

Despite the increasing participation of women, they have continued to be concentrated heavily in jobs traditionally considered "women's work". A third of all women who work are clerical workers, comprising 73% of the workers in this job category.¹⁸ Women are 96% of the private household workers, 86% of elementary school teachers (but only 47% of secondary school teachers, 22% of college faculty and professional staff), 98% of nurses.¹⁹ Women are concentrated in low paying, low status work--often work with poor job security. The jobs tend to require a docile, serving, nurturing personality. While some of them involve a fair amount of skill, few call for any initiative or independent decision making on any but the lowest level.

Few of the jobs have more than the most limited promotional possibilities. Thus one can rise from the typing pool to being a private secretary, but this route rarely leads any further. A secretary cannot become an assistant vice president, nor can a nurse become a doctor.

RELATION OF SOCIALIZATION TO EXPERIENCE.

The behavior encouraged in girls is clearly appropriate to these economic roles. Not only would self-assertiveness and aggressiveness not be useful traits for these jobs, they would be inappropriate and interfere with successful performance.

Beside the general behavioral characteristics, boys and girls are taught specific role expectations--that is, what roles they can expect to fill as adults. For boys there are a variety of roles to choose among (although, of course, as they mature, the realities of class and income impose substantial limitations). However for girls, while the possibilities of such roles as nurse or stewardess may be acknowledged in passing, the strongest emphasis by far is placed on the role of wife and mother. In fact, girls are socialized much more specifically to this role than boys are to any role.

To give a brief illustration, in a catalogue for a chain of toy stores, there are some games which are not sex specific, and then several pages of toys which are sex specific. The boys' toys, which

are mainly guns and trucks, reflect general behavioral expectations. That is, they encourage an orientation toward violence, aggression, power--rather than encouraging boys to be cops or truck drivers. The girls' toys were of two types. First there were dolls, both baby dolls to mother, and "grown up" dolls with which to play out fantasies of attracting a man--representing both sides of the wife and mother role. Second, there were toys related to housework: an iron and ironing board, a set of broom, mop, and carpet sweeper ("for the little homemaker"), and the newest addition, a toy washing machine.

It might seem that such specific socialization would prove contradictory to the experience of women in society. To be sure, most women do become wives and mothers, and perform many hours of housework, but they are not being prepared for the market work most of them will perform for at least part of their adult lives. I would argue that, on the contrary, such socialization is preparing women to fit smoothly into their economic role. Thinking of their market work as secondary to their true roles as wives and mothers, women tend to be docile workers, unlikely to organize or make demands. Even when their work is economically vital to the family, women tend to feel guilty about working (neglecting home and family), and this ambivalence makes them less likely to protest lay-offs. In short, socialization to be housewives makes women a convenient secondary labor force, working for low pay at jobs on the economic margin, where job security is very poor.²⁰

This is not to say that there are no conflicts between women's socialization and their experience. Particularly as more women enter the labor force, they are faced with a contradiction between their desire to do well and get recognition and their training as women. This is particularly true of women entering the professions, but it is generally true of any women who take their work seriously. Martina Horner has documented an incredible fear of success among academically successful women.²¹ And the women's liberation movement has documented the struggle of women to live independent, self-realized lives. The low status, and monotonous nature, of women's work, coupled with a lack of positive self-identity among women, is said to explain the higher incidence of mental illness in women than in men.²²

It would be interesting to discover if the sex role expectations of women are undergoing a change in response to the increased labor force participation of women, and especially as women begin to enter fields traditionally reserved for men. Further research needs to be done, to see if family, media, schools, other institutions are changing their expectations of appropriate behavior and roles for women.

V. TOPICS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH:

There are two clear directions for continued research on the socialization of work roles. First a more detailed study is needed on the role of women in the labor force. This research will differentiate between women as primary and as secondary workers, and will examine the change in their labor market role over time, emphasizing the period since World War II, with particular emphasis on the last ten years. The focus will be on developing a perspective on the future role of women workers under conditions of industrial democracy.

The second area of research will entail a study of the role of schools in socializing women to their work roles. This is a very complex question, as the socialization occurs not only in direct, overt form (guidance counselling, channeling of girls into home economics and typing courses), but also in less overt interaction. For example, as discussed in this paper, girls routinely achieve higher grades in school than boys, yet this better performance does not translate itself into better economic performance after school. Nor does this translation to economic performance seem to be expected either by the girls or by the schools. The emphasis in the study of schools will be dynamic, investigating the response of school to the increased participation by women in the labor force since World War II. Once again, special emphasis will be placed on the last ten years.

These are the two areas of research I plan to pursue within the next year. Following completion of these projects, I hope to engage in a comparative study, looking at countries where there have been attempts to change the work roles of women, requiring a concerted effort to change the socialization process, and in which some form of industrial democracy has been instituted. These countries include Sweden, Israel, and China.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Gold "Occupational Socialization".
2. This seeming contradiction between performance in school and economic performance after school needs further examination, as part of a larger question about the role of schools in the socialization of women to work roles. This topic will be covered in later research.
3. Horner (1969), p. 62.
4. Maccoby (1966), p. 31.
5. Ibid., p. 47. The possibility of bias in the testing must be reiterated here. The test, and testing environment, may reward the "average" person, penalize inhibition and impulsiveness.
6. Mischel, in Maccoby, op. cit., p. 71.
7. Kohlberg, in Ibid., p. 101.
8. Ibid., p. 102.
9. Ibid., p. 95.
10. Broverman et. al. (1972), p. 61.
11. Ibid., p. 61.
12. Edwards and Whiting (pending), p. 11.
13. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
14. Rothbart and Maccoby (1966).
15. Ibid., p. 243.
16. Aberle and Naegle, "Middle Class Fathers' Occupational Role and Attitudes Toward Children" in Sussman A Sourcebook on Marriage and the Family, quoted in Mandle (1971), p. 120.
17. Women's Bureau (1969), p. 18.
18. Ibid., p. 90.
19. Ibid., p. 96.
20. For a further discussion of the division of the labor market between primary and secondary workers, see M. Carnoy's work (in progress) for this project.
21. Horner (1972).
22. See Gove (1973).

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